FIVE CENTS

The Suffragist

PUBLISHED BY THE
CONGRESSIONAL UNION FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE
AND THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

DECEMBER 23, 1916

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS PERIODICAL DIVISION DEC 28 1916

INEZ MILHOLLAND MEMORIAL NUMBER

"FORWARD INTO LIGHT!"

Inez Milholland Leading First Suffrage Procession at National Capital, March, 1913

Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage

AND

National Woman's Party

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, LAFAYETTE SQUARE, WASHINGTON, D. C., *Tel. Main* 5437

BRANCH HEADQUARTERS:

Delaware, 17 East 7th Street, Wilmington

District of Columbia, Lafayette Square, Washington, D. C., *Tel. Main* 5437

Illinois, 1004 Stevens Building, Chicago, *Tel. Randolph* 1094

Indiana, The Arcade, West Washington Street, Indianapolis

Maryland, 817 N. Charles Street, Baltimore, *Tel. Mt. Vernon* 3279

Massachusetts, 401 Phillips Building, 120 Tremont Street, Boston, *Tel. Fort Hill* 2825

Michigan, 118 Farmer Street, Detroit

Minnesota, 206 Studio Building, corner Market and Fourth Street, St. Paul

New Jersey, 17 West Park Street, Newark, *Tel. Market* 3117

New York, 13 East 41st Street, New York, *Tel. Murray Hill* 5444

381 Main Street East, Rochester, *Tel.* 4265 *Stone, N. Y. Tel. Co.*

359 South Warren Street, Syracuse, *Tel. Warren* 8957

Ohio, 145 East State Street, Columbus

Pennsylvania, 213 Hale Building, Philadelphia, *Tel. Filbert* 5652

Colors—Purple, White and Gold

OBJECT: To secure an amendment to the United States Constitution enfranchising women.

MEMBERSHIP: Open to all women who, regarding woman suffrage as the foremost political issue of the day, will support it irrespective of the interests of any national political party.

ENTRANCE FEE: Twenty-five cents. There are no dues.

National Executive Committee of the Congressional Union

Miss Alice Paul, N. J., *Chairman*
Miss Lucy Burns, N. Y., *Vice-chairman*

Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, N. Y.
Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch, Kan.
Mrs. John W. Brannan, N. Y.

Mrs. Gilson Gardner, D. C.
Mrs. Donald R. Hooker, Md.
Mrs. William Kent, Cal.

Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, Pa.
Miss Anne Martin, Nev.

Officers of the National Woman's Party

Miss Anne Martin, Nev., *Chairman*

Mrs. Phoebe Hearst, Cal., *Vice-chairman*
Miss Alice Paul, N. J., *Ex-officio*

Miss Mabel Vernon, Nev., *Secretary*

National Departments

Finance
Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, Pa.

Legislative
Miss Anne Martin, Nev.

Membership
Miss Emily Stearns, D. C.

National Headquarters, Committee of 200, *Maintenance of*
Mrs. William Kent, Cal.

Organization
Miss Doris Stevens, Neb.

Pageant
Miss Hazel MacKaye, Mass.

Press
Mrs. Robert Baker, D. C.

Research
Mrs. Helena Hill Weed, Conn.

Treasurer, Miss Joy L. Webster, Neb.

Assistant Treasurer, Miss Gertrude L. Crocker, Ill.

Executive Secretary, Miss Virginia Arnold, N. C.

Field Secretaries

Eastern States—Miss Margaret Whittemore, Mich.

Central States—Miss Elsie Hill, Conn.

Western States—Miss Mabel Vernon, Nev.

Southern States—Mrs. E. St. Clair Thompson, Ariz.

National Organizers

Miss Beulah Amidon, N. Dak.
Miss Lucy Branham, Md.
Miss Iris Calderhead, Kas.
Miss Mary Gertrude Fendall, Md.
Miss Mildred Gilbert, Cal.
Miss Sarah Grant, Minn.
Miss Alice Henkle, Ill.
Miss Hazel Hunkins, Mont.
Miss Margery Gibson Ross, Pa.
Miss Cornelia Wyse, Ill.

District Chairmen

Middle Atlantic States—Mrs. Henry Bruere, N. Y.

North Middle Western States—Mrs. A. R. Colvin, Minn.

Inland Suffrage States—Mrs. E. M. Garnett, Utah.

National Committee of State Chairmen

Arizona
Mrs. H. M. Clagett, Nogales

Arkansas
Mrs. Edward M. Jarrett,
Hotel Rex, Zellville, Marion Co.

California
Mrs. Ida Finney Mackrille,
1271 37th Avenue, San Francisco

Colorado
Mrs. Bertha W. Fowler,
1225 Wood Avenue, Colorado Springs

Connecticut
Mrs. W. D. Ascough,
456 Washington Street, Hartford

Delaware
Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles,
17 East 7th Street, Wilmington

District of Columbia
Mrs. W. T. Burch,
21 Madison Place, Washington, D. C.

Idaho
Mrs. Frederick Walker,
c/o Travelling Library,
Oxford Hotel, Boise

Illinois
Mrs. Bertram Sippy,
1004 Stevens Bldg., Chicago

Indiana
Miss Eleanor Barker,
611 Fletcher Savings & Trust Co.,
Indianapolis

Kansas
Mrs. Dan Casement,
343 North 15th Street, Manhattan

Maine
Mrs. Robert Treat Whitehouse,
42 Deering Street, Portland

Maryland
Mrs. Townsend Scott,
817 North Charles Street, Baltimore

Massachusetts
Mrs. Agnes H. Morey,
120 Tremont Street, Boston

Michigan
Mrs. Nelson Whittemore
2967 West Grand Boulevard, Detroit

Minnesota
Mrs. A. R. Colvin,
Davern Avenue, St. Paul

Missouri
Mrs. Edith Barriger
5430 Cabanne Avenue, St. Louis

Montana
Mrs. C. S. Haire,
528 Hemlock Street, Helena

Nevada
Mrs. M. S. Bonnifield,
Winnemucca

New Jersey
Mrs. J. A. H. Hopkins,
17 West Park Street, Newark

New Mexico
Mrs. Joshua Raynolds,
308 South High Street, Albuquerque

New York
Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont,
13 East 41st Street, New York City

North Dakota
Mrs. Elizabeth Darrow O'Neil,
714 Eighth Street, Fargo

Ohio
Mrs. Cyrus Mead,
Vandalia

Oregon
Dr. Florence Manion,
517 Medical Building, Portland

Pennsylvania
Miss Marie Ernst Kennedy,
213 Hale Bldg., Philadelphia

South Carolina
Mrs. John Gibbs,
9 Pitt Street, Charleston

Tennessee
Mrs. Hugh L. White,
Johnson City

Texas
Mrs. Clara Snell Wolfe,
909 West 18th Street, Austin

Utah
Mrs. Margaret Zane Cherdron,
1901 South 9th Street, East,
Salt Lake City

Vermont
Mrs. J. Borden Estee,
Montpelier

Virginia
Mrs. Sophie G. Meredith,
204 East Grace Street, Richmond

Washington
Mrs. Otis Floyd Lamson,
1237 Federal Ave., Seattle

Wisconsin
Miss Ada James,
Richland Center

Wyoming
Dr. Frances M. Lane, Cody

National Advisory Council

Chairman, Mrs. John Rogers, N. Y.

Secretary, Miss Maud Younger, Cal.

Mrs. Robert Adamson, N. Y.
Mrs. Charles F. Amidon, N. Dak.
Miss Jessie Ashley, N. Y.
Mrs. Mary Austin, Cal.
Mrs. Adolphus Clay Bartlett, Ill.
Mrs. Cyrus Beard, Wyo.
Mrs. Mary Ritter Beard, N. Y.
Mrs. Edward Breitung, Mich.
Mrs. Alfred H. Bright, Minn.
Reverend Olympia Brown, Wis.
Miss Mary A. Burnham, Pa.
Mrs. Dora Phelps Buell, Col.
Mrs. Annie Wells Cannon, Utah
Mrs. John Carey, Ind.
Mrs. Joseph Carey, Wyo.
Miss Alice Carpenter, N. Y.
Mrs. William L. Colt, N. Y.
Mrs. Avery Coonley, Ill.
Mrs. Frank Cothren, N. Y.
Mrs. Lucius M. Cuthbert, Col.
Mrs. George H. Day, Conn.
Dr. Maria M. Dean, Mont.
Miss Lavinia Dock, N. Y.
Mrs. Rheta Childe Dorr, N. Y.
Miss Crystal Eastman, N. Y.
Mrs. J. Andre Fouilhoux, Ore.
Miss Susan P. Frost, S. C.
Mrs. Emma Maddox Funck, Md.
Mrs. Elizabeth Gerberding, Cal.
Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman, N. Y.
Mrs. Adolphus E. Graupner, Cal.
Mrs. Edwin C. Grice, Pa.
Mrs. Jennie Law Hardy, Mich.
Mrs. W. E. Hardy, Neb.
Mrs. F. R. Hazard, N. Y.
Mrs. Phoebe A. Hearst, Cal.
Mrs. William Randolph Hearst, N. Y.
Mrs. George Hendrie, Mich.
Mrs. Frederick C. Howe, N. Y.
Miss Mary Ingham, Pa.
Mrs. Inez Haynes Irwin, N. Y.
Mrs. Agnes M. Jenks, R. I.
Dr. Cora Smith King, Wash.
Miss Fola La Follette, N. Y.
Miss Gail Laughlin, Calif.
Mrs. Lola Maverick Lloyd, Ill.
Mrs. Jessie Hardy MacKaye, D. C.
Mrs. Lionel S. Marks, Mass.
Miss Julia Marlowe, N. Y.
Miss Helen Marot, N. Y.
Mrs. Harris Masterson, Tex.
Miss Edythe Wynne Matthison, Conn.
Miss Marion May, N. Y.
Mrs. Bernice McCoy, Idaho
Mrs. Lilla Day Monroe, Kans.
Mrs. John T. Morrison, Idaho
Mrs. William Spencer Murray, Md.
Mrs. Ellen Spencer Mussey, D. C.
Mrs. Meredith Nicholson, Ind.
Mrs. Adelina Otero-Warren, N. M.
Mrs. Marsden Perry, R. I.
Mrs. Annie Porritt, Conn.
Mrs. Alden Potter, Minn.
Mrs. William Prendergast, N. Y.
Mrs. Nina G. Proctor, N. Y.
Mrs. James Hayden Rector, Ohio
Mrs. Henry Ridgly, Del.
Miss Ella Riegel, Pa.
Mrs. Julius Rosenwald, Ill.
Mrs. Charles Edward Russell, D. C.
Mrs. Frederick Sanborn, Cal.
Mrs. May Wright Sewall, Ind.
Mrs. Austin Sperry, Cal.
Mrs. Albert Steinfeld, Ariz.
Mrs. Julius Stone, Ohio
Mrs. David D. Terry, Ark.
Mrs. Mary C. Therkelsen, Ore
Mrs. Robert Gibbes Thomas, S. C.
Mrs. W. I. Thomas, Ill.
Miss Clara L. Thompson, Mo.
Mrs. Shelley Tollhurst, Cal.
Mrs. Samuel Untermyer, N. Y.
Mrs. Richard Wainwright, D. C.
Mrs. Hettie D. M. Wallis, Tex.
Mrs. Thomas F. Walsh, D. C.
Mrs. Elizabeth Lowe Watson, C
Mrs. John Jay White, D. C.
Mrs. Harvey W. Wiley, D. C.
Mrs. S. B. M. Young, Mont.

VOL. IV, No. 52

The Suffragist

Published by the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage
and the National Woman's Party
Lafayette Square, Washington, D. C.

DECEMBER 23, 1916

Notes of the Week

Women to Serve on Inaugural Committee

FOR the first time in history, women have been appointed members of the committee which is to take charge of the inauguration ceremonies in Washington next March. The appointments of Mrs. James H. Boggs and Mrs. Wesley M. Stoner were announced by the committee chairman, Mr. Robert N. Harper, last week.

The readiness of the Administration to appoint women to important political committees is eloquent of the change in their attitude toward women as national political factors.

Woman Considered for Tariff Commission

RUMOR is current, as we go to press, that President Wilson has decided to appoint Ida M. Tarbell to the Federal Tariff Commission, the personnel of which he will announce within the next few days.

Miss Tarbell, who earned the title of "the greatest woman reporter," by her investigation of the Standard Oil Company, first gained note as a biographer of Lincoln. Then came her story of the Standard Oil Company, which is an authoritative work on the creation, the history, the fortunes, and the careers of the great corporation and its founders.

The *Ledger* comments on the appointment: "As a member of the tariff commission, Miss Tarbell's facility to digest statistics, her ability in getting at any problem, and her appetite for investigation will find employment aplenty."

Room Dedicated to Susan B. Anthony

THE table on which the original "Declaration of Sentiment" was signed by Susan B. Anthony was placed in the "Susan B. Anthony room" of the headquarters of the National American Woman Suffrage Association in Washington, D. C., last Sunday afternoon. A memorial tablet to Miss Anthony was unveiled at the same time.

Delaware State Grange for Federal Suffrage

WOMAN suffrage by federal and state amendment was overwhelmingly indorsed at the closing session of the Delaware State Grange, at Dover, December 14.

The States' Rights Principle in Action

ANOTHER unanswerable argument in favor of a federal suffrage amendment has just been supplied by the voters of New Orleans, Louisiana," writes Rheta Childe Dorr in the Philadelphia *Press*.

"The only public office to which a woman is eligible in the state is that of factory inspector. For some years women have been trying to obtain the right to serve on school boards and on boards of directors of public institutions, especially those sheltering women and children.

"On November 7 last the men of the state had eighteen amendments to the constitution on which to vote, one of them giving this small measure of justice to women and to the community. Every one of the amendments, except the women's passed, and this was killed in New Orleans because the Era Club, the Mothers' Co-operative Clubs and other women's organizations got together and studied a nine million dollar bond issue proposed for the city. The women found that while all the city departments were well provided for there was no proper provision for the public schools. So they used their indirect influence, which is said to be so much more powerful than votes, and got up a series of meetings against the bond issue.

"The result was that word went forth from the political bosses to 'give it to the ladies in the neck.' and the command was obeyed. On election day, as the voters approached the polls, each was handed a little ticket appropriately yellow in color, bearing instructions to 'stamp all the amendments except No. 5'—the women's amendment.

"The amendment was carried nearly two to one in the wards where the Era Club's membership is large, and in other wards where the educated and decent populations live. It was snowed under in the wards where the saloons and the disorderly houses are thickest. In the whole state outside New Orleans an adverse majority of only 166 might easily be overcome in another election. But New Orleans' adverse majority was 13,834 and the hope of converting those voters is nil.

"When Mr. Elihu Root speaks of the enormity of forcing woman suffrage on an unwilling community, that is the community he means, and Heaven knows it needs woman suffrage more than it needs anything else."

Famous Explorers Honor Ruth Law

REAR ADMIRAL ROBERT PEARY and Captain Roald Amundsen, arctic and antarctic explorers, united in paying honor to Ruth Law, the young aviatrix who holds the world's record for distance flight, at a meeting held in New York recently.

Miss Law was presented with a purse of $2,500, a gift from the Aero Club of America, for her recent Chicago to New York flight.

British Columbian Troops Vote for Suffrage

SOLDIERS from British Columbia, who are among the Canadian troops at the front, have been voting during the past week on a referendum involving prohibition and woman suffrage in their own province. It is said that they have voted largely against prohibition and in favor of suffrage.

"The voting at the front," says the news dispatch, "was accompanied by many picturesque incidents. Temporary polls were often established under the shelter of some shell-wrecked house in one of the ruined French villages just behind the front line. The men were brought in from the trenches in squads of twenty and thirty. All appeared to enjoy the unique experience of voting on such subjects as prohibition and suffrage while German shells went whistling and whining overhead."

It is a curious freak of fate that men quartered in France are gathered, in spite of the most serious difficultes, at the polling booth to decide the political status of women in British Columbia, while those same women sit at home totally unable to express their view of the matter.

Universal Suffrage for Mexico

ONE of the reforms insisted upon by General Carranza in his recent speech before the constitutional congress of Mexico is universal suffrage, says the Latin-American News Association of New York City.

It is curious to recall that this republic, called "darkest Mexico" by many an American, the country that President Wilson has pleaded should have a chance to work its way through revolution to freedom, should thus in advance of the United States declare the wish to make the government of Mexico a democracy in fact.

Danish Women Voted on Sale of West Indies

THE United States will add to its population several hundred thousand new women voters, if the proposed sale of the Danish West Indies is completed.

The sale was put to the people of the islands recently, the newly enfranchised women voting on the proposition with the men, and carried by a large majority. The final decision rests, however, with the Riksdag.

The islands will probably be recognized as a territory by the United States with non-voting delegates in the national Congress. Since the women of Alaska already vote the acquisition of the islands will make two territories in which women vote on equal terms with men.

WOMEN'S BUSINESS IN CONGRESS

Suffrage Principle Raised in the District of Columbia

ALL THE legislation considered by Congress affects women; but very often the separate interests of women come up for discussion in the national body, and make more apparent than ever the injustice of settling these matters without the consent and participation of women.

Attached to the bill establishing prohibition in the District of Columbia, was an amendment, proposed by Senator Underwood of Alabama, submitting the question to the "people" of the District. Senator Williams of Mississippi made the now obvious suggestion that the women of the District be given the right to vote on the proposed bill. On December 19, Senator Williams' amendment passed in committee of the whole by a vote of 54 to 15; Senator Underwood's failed 38 to 38, by a tie vote.

Mr. Underwood gave notice that he would demand a separate vote on his amendment when the bill reached the Senate proper.

Senator Williams' amendment struck the word "male" from the Underwood amendment. The fifteen Congressmen voting against this limited application of the principle of suffrage were Bankhead, Alabama; Beckman, Kentucky; Brandegee, Connecticut; Bryan, Florida; Culberson, Texas; du Pont, Delaware; Fletcher, Florida; Hardwick, Georgia; James, Kentucky; Martin, Virginia; Martine, New Jersey; Overman, North Carolina; Swanson, Virginia; Underwood, Alabama; Wadsworth, New York.

All but three of the Senators—Brandegee, du Pont and Wadsworth, were Democrats; and all but three—Brandegee, Martine and Wadsworth, came from the southern states.

Expatriation of American Women

THE Immigration Bill, discussed in the Senate last week (December 13) revealed some astounding conditions affecting the civil status of women. Under our present laws a native-born woman, married to an alien, becomes an alien, and can be refused admittance to the country if she has contracted an illness abroad which renders her "undesirable." On the other hand, a foreign-born woman married to a man who has become naturalized, may not join her husband in this country if she is found to be "affected with any contagious diseases."

Section 22 of the Immigration bill now before the Senate says in set terms: "That whenever an alien shall have been naturalized or shall have resided in the United States for seven consecutive years, and thereafter shall send for his wife or minor children to join him, and said wife or any of said minor children shall be found to be affected with any contagious diseases, such wife or minor children shall be held, under such regulations as the Secretary of Labor shall prescribe, until it shall be determined whether the disorder will be easily curable or whether they can be permitted to land without danger to other persons; and they shall not be either admitted or deported until such facts have been ascertained."

In the section, the wife of a naturalized citizen is plainly treated as foreign, since an American citizen, affected by any malady whatever, would have the right to return to the land of her birth.

A protest against this section was made by Senator Phelan of California. But, as is only natural in an assembly of men, the injustice Senator Phelan resented was the injustice to the man, separated from his family; not to the sick wife, deported from the land where her husband was established as a citizen.

An amendment proposed by Senator Phelan, shortening the term of separation between husband and wife, was defeated.

For the defense of the American woman married to an alien, and subject to deportation if affected by a contagious disease, Senator Reed spoke well and warmly. He called attention to the definition of the word "alien" in the pending immigration bill—"that the word alien, whenever used in this act, shall include any person not a native-born or naturalized citizen of the United States."

"Under the decision of the Supreme Court in MacKenzie against Hare and others," said Mr. Reed, "the Court has held that if the native-born woman marries an alien, she is no longer classed as a native-born. . . . Neither is she a naturalized person.

"We define an 'alien'," said Senator Reed, "to be any person whomsoever who has not been naturalized or who is not native born. The committee undoubtedly thought that covered everybody, but here is presented the case of a woman who was native born, but who has expatriated herself by marrying an alien. Hence she loses her status as a native born and becomes under the law a subject of the foreign power to which her husband owes allegiance, and is to be treated as a subject of that foreign power as much as though she were born there. Hence she is an alien within the law.

"That woman, who has become an alien by expatriation, goes to Europe, and while in Europe contracts some disease or incurs some other disability which would bar her is she were coming to this country as an original citizen of that country, as one borne in that country. When she comes here and pleads 'I am a native-born citizen and therefore entitled to return,' the answer to her is 'Under the decision in Mackenzie against Hare you have lost your status as a native born and can not come in as a native born. Neither can you come back as a naturalized person, and you must be barred from this country the same as though you were born in another country, because you have become a citizen of that country by your act of expatriation, to wit, the act of marrying a man who is not a naturalized or a native-born citizen of this country.' So that it seems to me now, with the law so plainly before us, that the committee ought to adopt the language that is suggested by adding the words 'other than the wife and other than the children under eighteen years of age of any native-born or naturalized citizen of the United States'."

Discrimination Against Women Voters

Mr. LANE. I desire to call the attention of the Senator from Missouri to an example, which came to my notice during the last presidential campaign, of a woman in my state who had married a foreigner who had not been naturalized in this country. She lost her citizenship, and as she had not had time to take out her second papers she was excluded from voting at the last election. Now, it seems to me that is absolute confirmation, is it not, of the position of the Senator from Missouri?

Mr. REED. Yes.

Mr. LANE. That incident astonished me. I was not familiar with the law, but the woman assured me she had lost her vote, although she was native born. I knew her parents and knew she was born in this country, but after her marriage to the foreigner she failed to take out naturalization papers and was not entitled to vote in this country.

Mr. SMITH of South Carolina. Mr. President, I have just a word or two to say. This is another case where, in order to take care of an exception, it is proposed to jeopardize the entire rule. The moment the suggested amendment is placed on the bill you open a Pandora's box.

In defense of the committee's position, I want to state now that when an American woman deliberately marries a foreigner, knowing the consequences as to her native country, she must take the consequences. If she elects to cease to be an American citizen, let her take her luck with those with whom she has cast her lot. I do not believe that we should here advocate having a dual citizenship and allow one who was born here to retain her American citizenship when she deliberately establishes her citizenship in a foreign country. It might lead to complications under certain conditions in this country that we would not be very willing to face. Here is the wife of a foreigner, an influential one, who wants to come to this country. We have certain immigration laws that might protect us under certain conditions, but she pleads this very amendment in her behalf. To all intents and purposes she is a foreigner; her heart and life are cast abroad, and yet she pleads her nativity as an excuse for enjoying all the privileges of a native American citizen.

It seems to me that there are enough American men attractive enough for the American women to find their husbands here, but, if there are not, then I am not going to vote for a law to foster this thing of American capital hunting some effete European title. I should like to make the provision more restrictive, if possible. If they want to swap American dollars for some kind of European titles, let them take the consequences of their act, but let us not upset our entire immigration law to suit the fancy of some woman who thinks that her money has procured all that she can get in America, but who also desires to buy some kind of a title that will give her the right to play the fool.

Mr. REED. Oh, Mr. President, the kind of woman that the Senator is talking about—and it seems to me that his argument ought hardly to be heard on the floor of the Senate; it would sound all right on the hustings, where one was trying to arouse a little enthusiasm or get a little applause, an offense that we are all guilty of at times—the kind of woman who swaps American dollars for a foreign title, goes to a foreign country to live. She follows the title she bought. However, there are plenty of good women in this country who may fall in love with some man born under some other flag, but who lives here and makes this his home, and who may marry that man and may afterwards see fit to make a trip beyond our borders. Let us take a very easy illustration.

Discrimination Against Women as Citizens

A Canadian—not a man with a title, but a man with a trade—comes across the border into Minnesota or one of our border states, falls in love with an American girl, marries her, and settles there, and she marries him for the same reason that good women have married good men at every stage of the world's history; but the husband does not see fit to renounce his allegiance to the flag of England. The woman discovers that by marrying she has lost her status as an American citizen. She makes a trip to Canada and before going has contracted or while there she

(*Continued on page* 11)

Memorial Service for Inez Milholland in New York on New Year's Day

THE final tribute to Inez Milholland Boissevain will be paid in New York City, the city most closely associated with her work and her aspirations, on New Year's Day. This memorial will closely follow the national tribute to be held in Washington at the Capitol and the many memorials in large cities and in small in the enfranchised and the unenfranchised states.

Not only suffragists, women and men who worked and who fought with her in her brave and forthright endeavors toward democracy, but also the hundreds of obscure and unknown who have been her friends, will be present at this final testimony to the work

Mrs. John Rogers, Jr., New York
Chairman Music Committee

of this young woman, her immense charity, her fighting soul.

The City Committee of the Congressional Union has charge of the plans for the New York memorial. Ten thousand invitations have been sent out to those whose interest in the work Mrs. Boissevain stood for is near, though the memorial is primarily for the public, not for the few. Miss Alice Carpenter is general chairman of arrangements for the memorial, with Mrs. John Rogers, Jr., Mrs. J. A. H. Hopkins of New Jersey, Mrs. John Flagler and Mrs. Rheta Childe Dorr assisting. Mrs. Mary R. Beard, Mrs. Therese Malkiel and Miss Mary Towle are assembling the delegations representing labor, socialists and lawyers; while Mrs. Moller is planning the pageant features of the memorial. Among the many suffragists from distant states who will be present are Miss A. Nanne, of Oregon; Mrs. T. Winchester, officially representing the

Crystal Eastman, New York
Chairman Program Committee

state of Minnesota, and Mrs. Albert Muhse, of Idaho.

The memorial is to be held at the Church of the Ascension at four o'clock on New Year's Day. All of the churches of New York, irrespective of creed, are announcing the memorial from their pulpits.

The musical program of the New York Memorial will be most beautiful and solemn in character. A vested choir with organ and a string quartette, will render the following program:

Organ and string quartette, "Blessed Damozel." (Debussy.)

Organ, Funeral March (Beethoven.)

Hymn, "From glory unto glory, be this our joyous song!"

Choir, Anthem, "How blest are they" (Tschaikowsky.)

String Quartette, Andante Cantabile (Tschaikowsky.)

Choir, Choral, "Awake, the dawn of day is near" (Wagner.)

Hymn, "For all the saints who from their labors rest."

Organ, Marseillaise.

Dr. Percy S. Grant of the Church of the Ascension will lead the service.

Sara Bard Field, of San Francisco, friend of Inez Milholland, and co-worker with her in the west through the great campaign in which she laid down her life, will pay the last tribute in the name of the women of the nation.

It is fitting that Mrs. Field should pronounce this last commemoration of her friend. Herself a co-worker in many of the state campaigns which spelled liberation for groups of women in this country, no one realizes more acutely than Mrs. Field what the long-delayed justice to women has cost those who have made the battle for suffrage for the last half-century. The death of Mrs. Boissevain, following her arduous work for the federal enfranchisement of women, is to Mrs. Field and other suffrage workers but a symbol of the sacrifices American women have made for political liberty. Mrs. Field will make the journey from San Francisco during the holidays for the express purpose of saying these words of her friend. She was with Mrs. Boissevain in Nevada and in California at the time she made her last appeal for the enfranchisement of women.

The many sides of Inez Milholland's passionate devotion to liberty were brought out at the great Cooper Union meeting in New York held this week. The audience was a mixture peculiar to Cooper Union—the humble ones of the East Side who had heard Inez Milholland speak from that platform so many times—and the suffrage world,

Mrs. J. A. H. Hopkins, New Jersey
Member Committee on Arrangements

the men and women in the active fight for women's political liberty. Frederick C. Howe presided, and the speakers who emphasized her forward-looking hopes were Sophie Loeb, Crystal Eastman, Alice Barrows Fernandez, Senator George W. Thompson, Ex-Warden James W. Osborne, with whom she was associated in the practice of law, Max Eastman, Dudley Field Malone, Anne Martin, Allan Benson, Rose Schneiderman.

Crystal Eastman expressed the feeling of all these personal friends of Mrs. Boissevain when she said, "Here we are today, the representatives of so many great movements—and we all claim Inez Milholland. This is very wonderful to me; it simply means that her whole aspiration was for fuller liberty."

Dudley Field Malone, the Democratic campaigner for President Wilson, said, "I am only sorry that in that last campaign I could not be fighting on her side. Her great message did more to make suffrage an issue in the late campaign than any other one cause. She turned hundreds of thousands of votes to the Woman's Party."

The Susan B. Anthony Amendment

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

THE AMENDMENT IN THE SIXTY-FOURTH CONGRESS

Introduced

In the Senate, on December 7, 1915, by Senators Sutherland, Thomas and Thompson.

In the House, on December 6, 1915, by Representatives Mondell, Raker, Keating and Hayden.

Referred

In the Senate, to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

In the House, to the Judiciary Committee.

Reported

In the Senate, January 8, 1916, the Sutherland Amendment, known as Senate Joint Resolution No. 1; by a favorable vote.

In the House, December 14, 1916, the Raker Amendment, known as House Joint Resolution No. 1; without recommendation.

Present Status

In the Senate, awaiting action.

In the House, awaiting action.

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Drafted

In its present form, by Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

First Introduced

January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the Senate.

Reported from Committee

In the Senate

1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1916, Favorable majority.

In the House

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.

Voted Upon

In the Senate

January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 26 (of whom 4 were announced as for and 2 against).

March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

In the House

January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204, failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

The Suffragist

Editor ..... Miss Lucy Burns
Assistant Editors ..... Miss Joy O. Young, Miss Vivian Pierce
Art Editor ..... Mrs. Nina E. Allender
Business Manager ..... Miss S. Ada Flatman
Office Manager ..... Miss Elizabeth Smith
Chairman Circulation Dept. Mrs. W. T. Burch

Subscription Price:
Domestic $1.00
Foreign $1.50
Single Copies ..... 5 *cents*

Checks, drafts and postoffice orders should be made payable to The Treasurer of the Congressional Union.

Columbian Printing Company, Inc., Washington, D. C.

Entered as second-class matter, Nov. 14, 1913, at the Postoffice at Washington, D. C., under act of March 3, 1879

Inez Milholland Boissevain

WE DO NOT talk of martyrs, no, not we
Who daily watch the long and bloody toll
Taken by war and industry, and see
How common is this gallantry of soul:
We do not talk of martyrs, we who plead
To share the duties of a human lot,
Who hold the faith that Truth and Honor lead
Along a path where women falter not;
We do not talk of martyrs; yet when one
So young, so eager, and so brave departs,
Her cause unconquered, and her task undone,
A sacred bitterness is in our hearts!
How long must we be patient under wrong?
Alas, my countrymen, how long, how long!

—*Alice Duer Miller, in the New York Tribune.*

The Word of a Friend

ONE of the many letters praising the memory of Inez Milholland comes from Miss Ada James, a leader in the fight for suffrage in Wisconsin.

"Our state owes a debt to Inez Milholland," says Miss James. "She helped us in our 1912 campaign, speaking at fairs in the rain or wherever she was needed.

"I believe every suffragist in the country is glad that Inez Milholland lived; her contribution to the cause was unique—something different than anyone else has given.

"She is one of the few who will never die—or grow old. In all you read and hear there seems to be more gratitude that she lived expressed, than sorrow at her departure; perhaps because no one can associate sorrow or death with Inez Milholland, who embodied life and enthusiasm.

"Wisconsin is glad that beautiful Inez Milholland lived and that she still lives."

The Only Tribute

MEMBERS of the administration have done well in placing the National Capitol at the disposal of the friends and associates of Inez Milholland for a great national commemoration of her life. Few of the nation's heroes have been so honored. Memorial services for Lincoln and Garfield have been held in the old Hall of Representatives where Inez Milholland will be remembered on Christmas Day; but the building, which represents the government of the United States, has always been rightly guarded for occasions affecting the lives, the interests, and the feelings of the whole people.

In giving the Capitol Building for a service in honor of Inez Milholland, the government of the United States has recognized the greatness of the cause she fought for, and the lasting value of her services to that cause and to the nation. It is a striking tribute to her, deeply rejoicing the hearts of her friends.

But no service or ceremonial, however unusual, is an adequate tribute to the life work of Inez Milholland. There is only one tribute her friends will recognize,—establishing as the law of the land the political liberties of women for which she strove and died.

Indeed, her death, so widely and so sincerely lamented, calls for such a tribute, and creates a persuasive opportunity for it. The tidings that the government of the United States recognized the greatness of Inez Milholland's work by completing it, would fill with gratitude thousands of hearts that now feel a genuine and just bitterness over the loss of this young and beautiful life, and of thousands of other obscurer lives devoted to the same end.

The suffrage movement is at a turning point. The hearts of the people are warm,—with gratitude and admiration for the generous young leader who gave her life for them;—with anger against the people in high places whose opposition to justice makes such a sacrifice necessary. Further delay would increase this anger, and rightly; the resentment of injustice is necessary and admirable. But a real step toward granting women the right of self-government would arouse a deep and abiding enthusiasm in the purest and steadiest elements of the community.

The death of Inez Milholland is a touching appeal for justice. We must believe that it will be heard.

"But yesterday, in the zenith of her power," writes an admirer in the little paper of the town where she lived and where she now lies buried, "she crossed the continent, one of the most shining figures in the most militant group of American women.

"To-day she comes back with folded hands over a pulseless bosom * * * to sleep at the feet of her fathers."

Those folded hands carry a great gift for women, whom she served with such royal generosity. They carry the freedom of the women of the future, and of our American race.

Nation Honors Inez Milholland

A GREAT national memorial for Inez Milholland Boissevain will be held in the National Capitol, in Statuary Hall, on Christmas day. This beautiful service will give expression, for the first time since her tragic death in Los Angeles following her interrupted tour of the suffrage states on behalf of the enfranchisement of women, to the rising tide of sorrow and protest over her loss by the women of the nation.

So great an honor is seldom paid a woman. Never before in the history of this country has a memorial service been held in historic Statuary Hall for one honored by no monument in that impressive chamber. Since the death of Inez Milholland many memorials have been held in many parts of the country. This great national tribute is a crystallization of sentiment accumulated in many states by women in all walks of life, who feel the loss of this young leader more instead of less as they turn to the renewed battle for political freedom for which she made her great sacrifice. This memorial of the women of the nation therefore expresses nation-wide protest as well as nation-wide sorrow on the part of women.

The holding of the memorial in Statuary Hall is unusually significant to suffragists. There in the old days members of the House of Representatives sat. There solemn services were held for Lincoln, that great martyr for liberty. There Garfield was honored by a national tribute. Around the pillared marble chamber stand the heroes of many states, the outstanding figures in the struggle for religious and political liberty in this country.

To the women of the nation to whom this young woman is no less a martyr for liberty, it is of thrilling moment that Inez Milholland, who has come to typify the waste of women in their long battle for political liberty, should be memorialized in such a place. It is fitting, women declare, that in a spot where the statues of Washington, Garfield, Lee and Calhoun, Governor Winthrop, Roger Williams, Father Marquette and Robert Fulton, run the gamut of noble achievement and sacrifice, this young woman's ringing words of exhortation should be heard by the women of the nation.

From a pictorial standpoint the great memorial promises to become a noteworthy memory among the celebrations, civil or miltary, that have been staged at the nation's Capital. From the Congressional Library across the plaza, the procession that is to form part of the ceremony will take its way at four o'clock, led by suffrage leaders and attendant young girls bearing four great suffrage banners.

Unusually significant is the banner that will head the procession. It is the golden banner Inez Milholland carried in 1910 in New York's first great suffrage procession, when, clad in white and attended by young girls helping to hold the big flag against the wind, she made a stirring picture as she led the great procession down Fifth Avenue. Few remembered without emotion the words on that banner when the news was flashed across the country that Inez Milholland was dead. Faded and tarnished her banner may seem among the brave purple, white and gold banners of the young suffragists who are taking up her work—but the words on the flag promise to ring out as thrillingly as before, and with deeper signficance.

Inez Milholland Boissevain Speaking in the West at One of Her Last Meetings for the Woman's Party

"Forward out of error,
Leave behind the night,
Forward through the darkness,
Forward into light!"

Miss Alice Paul, national chairman of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage, will carry this banner, followed by Miss Lucy Burns, vice-chairman, carrying a banner, bearing the solemn comment: "As He died to make men holy, let us die to make men free." Two other banners of the Congressional Union, purple, white and gold, bear the inscriptions: "Greater love hath no man than this, that he lay down his life for his friend;" and Walt Whitman's great lines that have been repeated at so many suffrage demonstrations for women's liberty:

"Not for nothing have the indomitable heads of the earth been always ready to fall for liberty."

Following the banner-carriers and their attendants across the plaza will come a boys' vested choir, who will sing a solemn service of music. The standard bearers, fifty young girls, who are to line Statuary Hall with a living circle of raised purple, white and gold standards, follow next, carrying high their shield-like flags. The picture of this colorful procession winding up the steps of the impressive approach to the east entrance of the Capitol, through the historic Rotunda and into Statuary Hall, will be one of great beauty.

Statuary Hall has been transformed for this woman's ceremonial. A purple curtain will fall in front of the great pillars at the east end, forming a background for the flower-banked dais from which the service will be read. Two speakers at the ceremony represent California, the state where Mrs. Boissevain died in the midst of her great appeal in Los Angeles for the liberty of American women.

Senator Sutherland of Utah, sponsor of the Susan B. Anthony suffrage amendment in the Senate, has been chosen to be the official representative of Congress. Miss Maud Younger, of San Francisco, California, friend and fellow worker with Mrs. Boissevain in the closing days of the campaign in the west, will speak for the enfranchised women of the nation.

The memorial resolution which will be read was drawn up by a committee of which Miss

Zona Gale, author, friend and co-worker with Mrs. Boissevain, is chairman. Embodying the final message of Inez Milholland in the west, these words come with unusual solemnity to the ears of the nation. Following are the words of the resolution:

"We, members of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage, wish to express our sorrow for the loss of Inez Milholland Boissevain, beloved and honored comrade.

"This loss is measureless. Her place cannot be filled. It is not only that Inez Milholland had prophetic understanding of women: she had courage and vision and laughter. She was brave and blithe beyond most leaders—blithe and valiant and unafraid to be herself, even though she knew that self, marching in advance, with eyes on tomorrow, would not be understood by the many with eyes on today.

"She lived in what women will be, in what human beings will be,—but she realized that this day is without its dawn until women are free. The breadth of her vision, her dauntless courage, some vivid quality in her soul thrilled us, like being lifted into clear windswept spaces.

"It is imperative that women understand her. It is not to be borne that she should pass, and that those for whom she worked should miss the luminous spectacle of her as she worked for fuller freedom. Tomorrow must not remember her better than today loves her.

"She asked unceasingly that women realize themselves. Through women she dreamed humanity, a race of the self-governed, not a race half free, half bond.

"These things must be divined and said: that she splendidly believed in women, that she unceasingly asked that they enter into their kingdom. She met her death preaching the solidarity of women.

"Let us remember her thrilling appeal to women in her last speech:

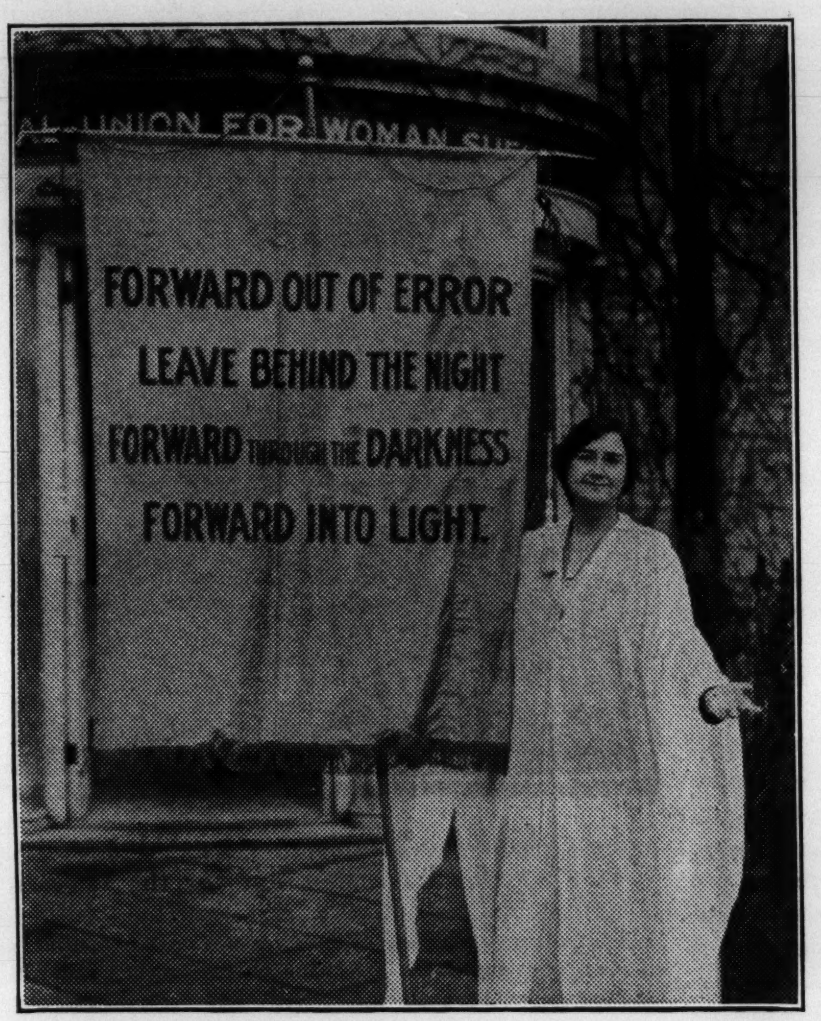
"'It is women for women now, and shall be till the fight is won.

"'Don't dare to say you are free until all women are free.

"'Together we shall stand, shoulder to shoulder, for the greatest principle the world has ever known—the right of self-government.

"The burning figure of her standing beside all women must not be veiled from the women of the nation. She gave herself to many causes, but she put no cause before the cause of women.

"Inez Milholland stood for women. She lived for women, she died for women. She is in the heart of every woman whose heart beats for tomorrow. That tomorrow is clearer and nearer because Inez Milholland lived. We, her comrades and friends, acknowledge the great debt we owe her. In the name of all women, we accept her gift and proudly honor her triumphant death. May we have the courage and the devotion to follow where she has led."



Words of the Banner Carried by Inez Milholland at the Head of the First Great Suffrage Procession in New York City

The Banner is Here Held by Mrs. Jessie Hardy MacKaye

Women and men of all classes and races and creeds will pay tribute at this ceremony. From every part of the Union women representatives have come to make part of the service. Young girls from Washington schools and colleges, from the Young Women's Christian Association and the Graduate Nurses' Club will carry standards and banners. The Chi Omega, Pi Beta Phi, Phi Mu and Sigma Kappa Sororities will be represented. Part of Mrs. Boissevain's family will come to Washington to hear this beautiful service. Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, Mrs. John Rogers and others will also come from New York. Among the women who have telegraphed their wish to make part of the ceremony are Miss Anne Evans, Missouri, classmate of Mrs. Boissevain; Mrs. Lola Purman Thurston, Arkansas; Mrs. John W. Langley, wife of Representative Langley, of Kentucky; Mrs. Sophie G. Meredith, state chairman of the Congressional Union of Virginia; Mrs. Townsend Scott, Miss Lucy Branham and Miss Mary Gertrude Fendall, of Maryland; Miss Annie Arniel and Miss Rachel Howland, of Delaware; Miss Mary K. Bates, of Kansas, Miss Eliza Hardy Lord, formerly Dean of Women at Cleveland University, and others.

The organization of this great national tribute has been the work of hundreds of individuals, uniting to make the memorial worthy of a memory as precious as that of Inez Milholland has become. Miss Alice Paul, national chairman of the Congressional Union, planned the memorial as a whole, assisted by Miss Anne Martin, Miss Mabel Vernon, Miss Lucy Burns and a large number of committees.

It was through Speaker Clark, of the House, through whom all permission must come to use the famous hall for memorial occasions, and Representative Adamson, of Georgia, that consent to hold the ceremony in so memorable a spot was obtained. The Speaker finally declared that he had turned over the east wing of the Capitol to the women of the nation for the purpose of this memorial.

Miss Lucy Burns, vice-chairman of the Congressional Union, is in charge of the music of the afternoon, which is to be the dominating feature of the service, of great beauty and solemnity. Miss Anne Martin and Mrs. Herbert H. Walker are in charge of the decorations of the interior. Great banners of purple, white and gold, and purple hangings will make the place one of great beauty. White and yellow flowers will be used by Mrs. Walker and her assistants to bank the low platform.

The following chairmen of committees have the various details of the program in charge: Mrs. Robert Baker and Miss Vivian Pierce, press; Mrs Bessie H. Papandre, chairman of committee on procession arrangements; Miss Katherine Rolston Fisher, chairman of state delegations; Miss Virginia Arnold, chairman of invitations committee; Miss Maud Younger, chairman of standards committee; Miss Mildred Gilbert and Miss Pauline Floyd, chairmen of participation committee; Mrs. John Jay White, chairman of memorial fund; Miss Hazel Hunkins, Miss Edith Goode and Miss Lucy Madeira, chairmen of college delegations.

Men and women representing all classes, professions and interests have come forward, eager to make part of the great ceremony which expresses their appreciation of the beautiful and generous young life of Inez Milholland. A great group of these have undertaken to awaken their co-workers to an understanding of the spirit of this dead leader.

Miss Eliza Tonks is in charge of reaching collegiate alumnae, many of whom knew Mrs. Boissevain and have come forward to honor her memory; Mrs. W. T. Burch and Mrs. T. Janney Brown are in charge of the peace delegation from Washington and other cities; Mrs. Harvey Wiley, of Consumer's League members; Mrs. Ellen Spencer Mussey and Miss Sarah T. Andrews, women lawyers who are anxious to pay their personal tribute to Mrs. Boissevain; Miss Ruth Norcross, business women; Dr. Cora Smith King, women voters; Dr. Martha E. Burritt, Dr. Helen Perkins and Dr. Nellie Collins Williams, professional women; Mrs. Nina Allender, cartoonist for THE SUFFRAGIST, women artists; Mrs. Richard Wainwright, army and navy women who have shown an interest in suffrage; Mr. Lynn Haynes, the members of the National Voters' League; Mrs. Jennie Monroe, the Washington Single Tax organization; Miss Emily Stearns, the precinct organizations of the Congressional Union; Miss Aline Solomons, Daughters of the Revolution; Miss Emily Carr, the kindergarten teachers of the District; Mrs. J. F. S. Neligh, the social settlement workers of the District; Mrs. Virginia White Speel, the Republican League.

Among the young women who will carry standards are Miss Janet Herron, Miss Anna Mactier, Miss Dorothy Hile, Miss Norma Johnson, Miss Irene Wright, Miss Dorothy Wright, Miss Edna Dixon, Miss Reba Segal, Miss Margaret Proctor, Miss Joy Young, Miss Maude Jamison, Miss Gertrude Crocker, Miss Edna Reagel, Miss Pauline Floyd, Miss Mary Deeds, Miss Eleanor Hill Weed, Mary Hill Weed, Miss Hall, Miss Crans, Miss Marian Crisp, Miss Halpenny, Miss Eleanor Rebyea, Miss Genevieve Wimsatt, Miss Candace Howard, Miss Berta Crone, Miss Lena Hitchcock.

Inez Milholland

THE finest memorial to Inez Milholland Boissevain is to be a new consecration of her friends to the causes which she loved.

A memorial meeting is to be held in her honor on Thursday evening at Cooper Union, writes Emma Bugbee, in the New York *Tribune,* but it is to be a meeting built on hope rather than on mourning. Not the pathos of the passing of one so beautiful and brave, but the inspiration which she lighted in the lives of her friends—this is to be the keynote of the meeting. It was only on these terms that her family consented to any public demonstration. They frowned on the plan to organize a big funeral, but when some one was inspired to arrange a meeting which would look to the future and put new warmth and courage into the hearts of those who are working for unselfish causes, they were glad.

"Almost her last words were 'Keep on working for democracy,'" said her sister, Miss Vida Milholland, discussing the plans for the memorial meeting, "and I am sure she does not want us to mourn her now, but to hurry up and do something to make the world better. The keynote of her life was hope. She hated moping around and talking about how bad things were, as much as she loved plunging in to set them right."

So there will be a socialist, a pacifist, a labor leader, a prison reformer and a suffragist among the speakers at the meeting. Many prominent men and women have asked for the privilege of paying their homage to one of the best-loved figures of our day, but only those will be on the program who can seal their tributes with work in the future. In the audience will be many, too, who will never tell their stories to the public, girls whom she befriended, ex-convicts for whom she found work, and men and women, to whose sordid little tragedies she gave without stint of her legal knowledge.

"The last time I saw her she was in my place trying to get a man a job.

"Whenever a woman came to me for advice I sent her to Mrs. Boissevain, for I knew she would help her without charging her anything."

These are the stories which have come to her family in the days since she died—stories which no one ever noticed before, because the radiance of the living woman was so bright there were no eyes for the drab little figures she was holding by the hand.

Just why she chose to be a lover of democracy instead of a social celebrity is one of the mysteries which the Maker of souls alone understands. It is only possible for us to piece together the bits of her life story.

She started in as a tiny child. When sent out to play with her sister and the other "nice little girls" in Madison Square she horrified the nurse and angered the "nice little girls" by inviting the "street children" to join in their games.

"We won't play with you if you play with those Third Avenue children," the little girls said.

"You don't have to," six-year-old Inez retorted, "but I'm going to play with them. They've got just as much right in this park as you have."

It was in London, where her father's business had taken the family, that she first learned to hate poverty in the abstract.

"We missed her one afternoon, and after hunting all over we found her down at Charing Cross with a Salvation Army girl," her mother told me the other day. "That set her thinking, and I date all her socialistic theories from that afternoon, although she didn't use the word 'Socialism' much until after she had been to Vassar. She got most of her radicalism there.

"She came by her interest in politics naturally, though. Because of her father's interest in the under dog our house was always full of leaders of unpopular causes. We knew John Redmond and George Bernard Shaw and such people in those days. Sometimes after I had had a dinner party Inez would say to me at breakfast, 'Who was that man that talked about Ireland so long?'

"'What do you know about it?' I would cry, and she would laugh:

"'Oh, I was out there on the stairs listening. I hid when they opened the do r, because I only had on my nightgown.'

"She was very beautiful when she was growing up. More than once duchesses inquired who she was, and all my friends took it for granted that I would have her presented at court as soon as she came out. Of course, I wanted her to, but do you suppose she cared about court?

"Pooh! Why should she kiss a king's hand? She wouldn't be seen with a king, she would say, and dash off to some radical meeting.

"I don't remember just when we first became acquainted with Mrs. Pankhurst and the London suffragists, but I know I had them in my drawing room for Mrs. Pankhurst's first public meeting. It cost me two of my best friends, too, but I couldn't stop Inez any more than one could stop the lightning. She had a whole lot of members of Parliament there to meet Mrs. Pankhurst, and it was a very - markable meeting in the light of later happenings. Inez never was arrested herself, though I held my breath in terror every time she went out with them, and I don't understand to this day how she escaped, for she was absolutely fearless; but I believe we came back to America to live before the worst of the riots."

The spectacular incidents in her New York career are, of course, well known. Inez Milholland dashing up Fifth Avenue on horseback at the head of a suffrage parade and standing with stars in her hair as the symbol of America in all the pageants will be a tradition in suffrage history.

It was not her parades, or even her speeches, however, which brought half the suffrage leaders of New York, with tears streaming down their faces, to headquarters on the morning she died. . . . It was partly her sense of fair play and partly her capacity for enjoying every moment of the game. . .

I remember her at Vassar a year ago, when the college was celebrating its fiftieth anniversary. She was quite the most prominent of the "old guard" who came back for the ceremonies, and undergraduate attention focussed itself chiefly on her.

Whenever they strolled across the campus one felt the unseen eyes of adoring freshmen peering from behind the trees, and when Mrs. Boissevain, who had made the college record for the shot put in her day, shook hands with the champion of the after years the whole college cheered. A suffrage meeting had been called by the energetic Congressional Union, of which she was a loyal follower, and to which cause she gave her life in the last campaign. The suffrage meeting did not meet with encouragement from college authorities, however, and it was called off.

"Oh, never mind! I'd much rather play basketball again," Mrs. Boissevain cried, cheerfully, and hurried away to hide her beauty in a much bedraggled gym suit borrowed from a lanky sophomore. She entered into the game in that homely outfit with the same vivid enthusiasm which marked all her public doings.

Life in the same little Adirondack town where she spent her summers was the same story of happiness and affectionate interest in everyone about her, and it is there, perhaps, that the only memorial that can be seen by the eye will stand.

Not many miles away, at North Elba, is the birthplace of John Brown, whose "soul goes marching on." They are not going to sing about Inez Milholland's soul, but the people of the neighborhood are not going to forget her, for whenever they look to the mountains they will see Mount Inez, the highest peak round about there. It has been renamed by the people of Lewis in honor of their most illustrious citizen.

AMID sorrowing groups of kinsfolk, friends and neighbors, who had watched her remarkable career from childhood, the body of Inez Milholland Boissevain was laid to rest on one of the most picturesque sites of the Adirondacks. A foothill of the famous Jay Range which divides that township from Lewis, it rises gently from the little white church and graveyard west from the village and commands a view of the mountains, for its elevation, unsurpassed throughout this famous Boquet Valley.

The services were characterized by simplicity, the Elizabethtown (N.Y.) *Post* writes. Reverend Herbert Ford, formerly of Westminister Church, New York, now located at Elizabethtown, spoke briefly of Mrs. Boissevain's life and work, touching upon the spiritual nature that dominated more and more all her activities and the tremendous, comprehensive passionate love for her fellow creatures that was summed up in her well-known declaration of principles: "I want to make everybody happy and I want everybody to love me."

In recognition of this dominant note of her being the song service was cast: "Oh love that will not let me go," "Love divine, all love excelling," and "Abide with Me."

The pall bearers were six of the oldest farm hands employed at Meadowmount.

In all the wilderness of flowers that came from the Pacific to the Atlantic, east, west, north and south, no piece touched the heart of the family and the multitude so deeply as the large beautiful wreath of Autumn leaves filled with white chrysanthemums, from the convicts of Sing Sing Prison, for the amelioration of whose condition she labored so zealously and so successfully.

The American flag presented by the California gentlemen "to the bravest soldier and most unselfish knight since Joan of Arc" was left upon her breast, with the Bible given her when a child by her mother. Her father's last token was her favorite flowers, the red rose of courage and the white lily "of a pure intent."

Plans of the District Branch

MEMORIES of Christmas days of long ago will be awakened at "The Old Cameron House," Washington, D. C., this year. The historic mansion, once the gathering place for fashionable and official folk in the national capital and now pointed out by the guides on sight-seeing cars with the unvarying formula: "Ladies and gentlemen! The headquarters of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage,—right there where the purple, white and yellow flag flies,' will be thrown open to all the Union's members and friends. Throughout Christmas week the house will be thronged with visitors and many members have planned private parties and dances beside the big dance and bridge party to be given by the Union Friday, December 30.

At dusk on Christmas Eve a lighted candle will be placed in every window to guide the Christmas fairies through the snow; and roaring log fires will blaze in all the great open fire-places.

The dance and bridge party on December 30 will be given by the District branch of the Congressional Union for the federal amendment fund, which will be used to finance the suffrage drive on Congress throughout the two short months of the present session. There is much to be done, members in the District feel; money for it must be raised, and promptly.

The dance and bridge party will carry out its grave purpose delightfully. The entire house will be used for the event. Each window will have its holly wreath; holly and Christmas greens will cover the walls; and a "real Christmas tree" will be the main attraction in the large front drawing-room, its twinkling little candles the only light upon the dancers around it.

The second floor will be turned over to the dancing. The bridge tables will be placed on the lower floor and will be in charge of Miss Estelle Hellman. Very beautiful prizes have been donated for the winners. The decorations and the tree will be in charge of Mrs. John Jay White, Mrs. Gilson Gardner, Mrs. Nina E. Allender,

Mrs. W. T. Burch
First Vice-Chairman District Branch, Congressional Union

Miss Bliss Finley, and Miss Grace Needham. Mrs. John Kerfoot Haywood will arrange the dancing asisted by Miss Edith Goode and Miss Aline Solomons. Mrs. Louis R. Glavis and Mrs. Paul Dessez will be in charge of the refreshments.

Tickets at one dollar each will be sold, and all money above the expenses of the dance will be added to the "federal amendment fund." Mrs. Haywood has charge of the tickets for the dance and Miss Hellman the tickets for bridge.

At the District of Columbia organization meetings which have been held during the past week, the dance has aroused much interest, and the newly elected officers have eagerly volunteered to share some of the work of preparation. They are planning the card tables and arranging parties to go into the country to get great piles of evergreen for the decorations.

There were three of these committees formed during the past week. At the meeting of the fifth subdivision of the third precinct, held in the Richmond Hotel, December 14, Miss Charlotte Johnston was elected chairman, Dr. Laura Hawkins, vice-chairman; Miss Alice Stearns, secretary; Miss Nina G. Brownell, treasurer; Miss Elizabeth Cafelin, chairman THE SUFFRAGIST committee; and Miss Roberta Nicholls, chairman of membership.

Miss Vivian Pierce and Mrs. Helena Hill Weed were the speakers at this meeting. Miss Pierce campaigned for the Woman's Party in Arizona and she told the women at the meeting of the significance of the Woman's Party among women; that it meant solidarity among women, that women were united in the cause of freedom for all.

Mrs. Weed gave a comprehensive history of the suffrage movement in this country from its beginning, the first Conference of Women, held at Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848.

Mrs. John Jay White, who took an active part in the campaign in Illinois, was the chief speaker at a joint meeting of the seventh, eighth, and ninth subdivisions of the second precinct held in Cameron House, December 15. Her audience broke into a wave of applause when she said that the formation of the Woman's Party and the present suffrage agitation in the United States was part of a great world movement among women. Mrs. E. B. Harden, chairman; and Miss Anna Carr, secretary and treasurer of the eighth division are both working vigorously with plans for the Christmas dance.

The Woman's Vote

IN order that every member of Congress may have before him all the facts and figures concerning the woman's vote in the recent elections, the Congressional Union will issue a pamphlet containing all information obtainable on the woman's vote, and the suffrage issue as it came to the front in the last campaign. Although the primary object of the pamphlet will be to clear up misunderstandings which seem to exist in the minds of many Congressmen and Senators as to the way the woman vote of the country went, it will not be given to them exclusively, but will be placed at the disposal of the press, libraries and schools all over the country.

The document is now being completed by Miss Anne Martin, chairman of the Woman's Party, and Miss Lucy Burns, editor of THE SUFFRAGIST. The statement will analyse the election results in the western states as well as record the use made of the suffrage issue among women voters by the Democratic party.

Mrs. Helena Hill Weed, research chairman of the Congressional Union, has gathered together samples of literature which was sent broadcast through the suffrage states by the Democrats, and excerpts of the speeches made by William Jennings Bryan, candidates for Congress and other Democratic campaigners, in which they declared to the western voting women their ardent interest in federal suffrage.

Comments of the Press

WOODROW WILSON easily found out what the women of the United States intend to do with his administration and his Congress. The eight-hour law was considered the most important phase of legislative and executive action when Congress assembled, but the women quickly changed the whole outlook and gave the re-elected administration an opportunity to consider something that seemed to be more vital than the Mexican question, the food problem or international puzzle about submarines.—*New York City Telegraph.*

THE feminine invasion of Congress this time is a serious matter, for the women are not only strongly organized, but they are reinforced in their fight by the moral effect of the influence wielded by the women's vote in the recent presidential election.—*Baltimore American.*

MEN are beginning to see daylight on the woman suffrage question. Now that four millions of women can vote, politicians have come to the conclusion that they are worth cultivating.—*Columbus (Ohio) Dispatch.*

A PREDICTION that President Wilson will support a federal suffrage amendment is made by Joseph E. Cohen in *The American Socialist* of November 25.

"It seems quite reasonable to predict that woman suffrage will be proposed by the President, possibly at the coming session of Congress," says Mr. Cohen. "In any case, it is sure to filter through in the next four years. If Wilson is going ahead, he will steal this march on the Republican party.

"That is to say, it behooves the Socialist party to put the issue of enfranchising women in the forefront of its agitation. This is the time for the Socialist party to strike out and gain whatever handicap it can in winning the sympathy of the women of the nation."—*Ohio Woman.*

THE leaders of the National Woman's Party have announced that they will call on the President once again in the interest of an amendment to the Constitution to grant equal suffrage. Congress also will be assailed by a larger lobby than ever. This announcement undoubtedly is mighty welcome news to the administration.—*Olympia (Washington) Olympian.*

THE President failed to pile up the immense majority he would have had had he given his influence to the Susan B. Anthony amendment.

So endeth one of the lessons of the recent election.—*Everywoman (California.)*

EVERY man who is neutral in thought on the suffrage question should take pains to dodge the members of the Women's Congressional Union.—*New York City Sun.*

Treasurer's Report

Treasurer: Miss Joy L. Webster
Assistant Treasurer: Miss Gertrude L. Crocker
Bank of Deposit: American Security and Trust Co., Washington, D. C.

Contributions toward $250,000 Fund for Securing the Passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment

List of Contributions from December 12 through December 18, 1916

Contributions made to National Headquarters:

Mrs. Julius Rosenwald...	$250.00
Mrs. Thomas L. Chadbourne, Jr.....	500.00
Mrs. Gilson Gardner.....	5.00
Miss M. D. Powell.....	5.00
Mrs. W. H. Blauvelt.....	5.00
Through Mrs. Robert Adamson:	
Mrs. Claude Kress.....	50.00
Mr. Summerfield Baldwin.	20.00
Mr. W. Pearre.....	5.00
Mr. Homer B. Warren...	10.00
Anonymous	12.00
Mrs. E. H. Potter.....	25.00
Mrs. Charles Edwin Miller	3.30
Mr. W. Ernst Kennedy...	32.00
Mrs. Charlotte Pierce....	5.00
Miss Louise Lewis.....	5.00
Mrs. Helen M. McCrum..	20.00
Dr. F. D. R. Atkinson....	5.00
Mrs. Charles H. Bond....	6.00
Miss Margaret Whittemore	10.00
Miss B. Howlett.....	1.00
Memberships	3.50
Total	977.80
Previously acknowledged in THE SUFFRAGIST....	193,926.98

National Headquarters Receipts:

Total collected by National Headquarters through December 18, 1916	194,904.78

Contributions made to New Jersey Headquarteas:

Mrs. R. M. Laird.....	4.00
Miss Emma L. Richards	1.10
Landis Township Branch	3.00
Mrs. Abram J. Rose...	17.00
Mrs. Howard P. Boyle..	4.00
Miss Margaret Boyle..	2.00

Contributions made to Massachusetts Headquarters:

Miss Genevieve M. Fuller	12.00
Mrs. Gertrude B. Newell	6.00
Miss Jessie M. Sweatt..	1.00
Miss Mary Ware Allen.	2.00
Mrs. Edward C. Jeffrey	2.00
Miss Katharine A. Morey	5.00
Miss Von Arnim.....	5.00
Dr. R. F. D. Atkinson..	5.00
Miss Alice M. Ruggles..	5.00
Mrs. Olive H. Hasbrouck	5.00
Miss Anna C. Murdock.	2.00
Miss Margaret B. Krebs	5.00
Mrs. Thomas H. Gray, Jr.	3.00
Mr. Thomas H. Gray, Jr.	1.00
Miss Janetta G. S. Reed .	2.00
Mrs. Agnes H. Morey..	2.00
Miss Bridget Sullivan..	2.00
Mrs. A. G. Hollingsworth	5.00
Framingham Branch of Congressional Union.	15.00
Lawrence Branch of Congressional Union.	10.00
Miss Linda K. Winsor.	3.00
Miss Eleanor Babson..	2.00
Mrs. Leon Collver.....	.50
Mrs. Edward Lanning..	1.00
Total	132.60
Previously acknowledged in THE SUFFRAGIST	18,008.94

Branch Receipts:

Total collected by the Branches through December 18, 1916.....	18,141.54
Grand Total	$213,046.32

Women's Business in Congress

(*Continued from page 4*)

contracts tuberculosis or some other disease that would bar her if she had been born in Canada and were emigrating to this country. When she undertakes to come back to her husband she is met by an immigrant inspector who tells her she can not come in. She says, "I was born in the United States. My parents were born in the United States." But the inspector says to her, "You must stay out of the United States because you are neither native born nor naturalized; you lost your status as a native-born person when you married a subject of England."

Now, we ought not to allow a thing of that kind. It is not necessary to mar or break up the harmony of this bill by admitting an amendment that will do away with a possible wrong of that sort.

Mr. President, I move to insert in the bill, after the words "United States," on page 1, line 5, this language:

Not, however, including the wife of an alien, provided such wife was born in the United States, or the children of such marriage under 18 years of age.

The amendment was lost by a vote of five to six!

"Very well," said Senator Reed, "That vote indicates—and I hope it will be recorded—the attention that the Senate is giving to this bill."

It indicates to women the amount of earnest consideration given by an assembly representative almost entirely of men to a proposal involving what another Senator called "the naked right to come into this country."

Women and Negroes

IN THE midst of a discussion on December 18 of a bill to provide for the use of public school buildings in the District of Columbia as community forums, Mr. Ragsdale of South Carolina was asked, "Is the gentleman willing to vote for a referendum on the prohibition issue in the District?" and replied, *"If the gentleman would confine it to white people and males, yes."*

On the next page of the *Record* we find Mr. Ragsdale declaring, "Whenever any legislation denies anybody who is opposed to a thing the right to be heard, . . . it is manifestly unfair."

It is astounding to find in so many southern congressmen, as in Mr. Ragsdale, a similar attitude toward negroes and toward women. "Negroes in their place," "women in their sphere," are commonplaces of argument among a surprising number of southern politicians.

The peculiar love of these men for the negro "in his place" and of women "in their sphere" is a curious phenomenon to women, who only slowly realize that they are meeting the inevitable attitude of an enfranchised to a disfranchised class.

Help Yourself
and
Help the Cause
by
Shopping with
our
Advertisers

THE
A. T. Lewis & Son Dry Goods Co.
Denver, Colo.
A Store where no transaction is complete until the customer is satisfied.

The Blum Store
1310 CHESTNUT STREET, PHILA.
Suits, Coats, Gowns, Blouses, Skirts
Millinery, Furs

Phone Main 2063
NEJIB HEKIMIAN
Exclusive
Oriental Floor Coverings
ESTABLISHED 1901
1512 H St., N. W.
Washington, D.C.
Washing and Cleaning of Persian Rugs

Stone
1222 Walnut St.
"Style without Extravagance" Philadelphia

SOCIETY STATIONERY
E. MORRISON PAPER CO.
1009 Pennsylvania Avenue N. W.
Mothproof bags and paper for protecting the winter clothing, carpets, rugs, curtains, etc.

Exclusively for Women
Then why not stay at
Hotel Rutledge
Lexington Ave. and 30th St.
New York
Rooms from $1.00 daily
Room with full board from $12.00 to $18.00 per week. All outside rooms

5,000 New Subscribers

Members Who Have Secured New Subscribers for "The Suffragist"

DECEMBER 9 THROUGH DECEMBER 16

Mrs. Robert Adamson	2
New Jersey Branch, Congressional Union	5
Miss Beulah Amidon	6
Miss Lucy Burns	1
Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles	13
Mrs. F. C. Aldinger	3
Mrs. J. L. Day	1
Mrs. Emily H. Bright	2
Miss Margaret Stevenson	1
Dr. Margaret Long	1
Miss Mildred Gilbert	1
Miss Ruth Crocker	1
Miss Alice Paul	1
Mrs. Clarence M. Smith	1
Mrs. S. L. Martin	2
Total	31
Previously acknowledged in THE SUFFRAGIST	4,357
Total through December 16th secured by members	4,388

You can give your friend no better Christmas gift than a year's subscription to

THE SUFFRAGIST

One Dollar per Year

From a Friend

MRS. PAULINE M. WITHERS

Public Stenographer *Notary Public*

Phone Main 7060

Room 927 Woodward Building Washington, D. C.

WEST END TRUST COMPANY

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

CAPITAL and SURPLUS

$4,000,000

Receives Deposits

Acts as Executor, Administrator, Guardian, Trustee, Agent

Sells Foreign Exchange, Travelers' Letters of Credit, Express Checks

Maintains an Up-to-date Safe Deposit Department and a Storage Department for trunks and packages

Manages Real Estate, Collects Rents etc.

Lends Money on Approved Collateral Security

The Beaver Press — The Sign of Quality

PERSONAL SERVICE PRINTING

621 Plymouth Court CHICAGO

TELEPHONE MAIN 673

Lanman Engraving Co.

HALF TONES, ZINC ETCHINGS PROCESS ENGRAVERS

POST BUILDING Washington, D. C.

Public Speaking Parliamentary Law

Principles of Common Law Practical Business Course

Paul Institute

2107 S Street, N.W. Washington, D.C.

Mrs. Nanette B. Paul, LL.B. President

Science, Literature Music and Art

Drawing Rooms For Rent

21 MADISON PLACE N. W.

Washington, D. C.

THE attractive drawing rooms of Cameron House are for rent for private entertaining and for club and society meetings. Low rental for their use afternoons and evenings. One dressing room and the service of maid, also open fire if desired. For small clubs or committees requiring only one room special arrangements will be made. Visitors will be welcome to look over the rooms. For further information apply to Mrs. Ella Dean, Official Hostess.

CHURCH ENVELOPES

Of Every Variety

JOSEPH BRENNIAN COMPANY

1632 Meadow St. Philadelphia, Pa

Phone: Fkd. 81

TELEPHONE MAIN 861

Brentano's

Booksellers, Engravers and Stationers

F AND TWELFTH STREETS WASHINGTON, D. C.

Open 9:00 A. M. to 6:00 P. M. Daily

"THE BUSY CORNER"

S. Kann Sons & Co.

8TH ST. AND PENNA. AVE.

DEPEND ON KANN'S

THIS FINAL WEEK OF

CHRISTMAS SHOPPING

For Plentiful Assortments of Worthy Gift Things. You Will Find Us Equal to All Emergencies and That Your Expenditures Will be Easy on Your Purse

REMEMBER—we send FREE to any point in the United States ANY PURCHASE made in this Store

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

Rate, 15 words 25 cents, 2 cents each additional word. Five insertions for the price of four.

All advertisements must be prepaid. To insure insertion in our next issue, all advertisements must be received not later than Tuesday morning. Address, the Advertising Manager THE SUFFRAGIST, Lafayette Square, Washington, D. C.

FOR SALE

THE WOMAN CITIZEN'S LIBRARY

Edited by Shailer Matthews, D. D.

A practical political and civic reference for women. Twelve handy volumes. Complete in dealing with the entire development of the science of community betterment.

Special price to clubs or active workers.

THE CIVICS SOCIETY,
Trenton, N. J.

CURRANT JUICE from which fresh jelly can be made at any time by boiling four minutes and adding sugar. Sample enough for two glasses sent with directions for 20c. Marion Tuttle, Hornell, N. Y.

LAUNDRY WORK BY HAND; especially for ladies and children. No machinery used. Sunlight Hand Laundry, 1439 Morris Rd. S. E., Washington, D. C.

LECTURE by Hon. C. T. Atkinson, author, lawyer and orator. "Torpedoes for Anti-Suffragists." Metropolitan press rates Atkinson one of the ablest lawyers and orators. Booklet by request. Authors Selling Co., 59 Court St., Newark, N. J.

To the Advertisement Manager, THE SUFFRAGIST,
Lafayette Square, Washington, D. C.

Please insert the undermentioned Advertisement in THE SUFFRAGIST *for* .....

Insertions to be published .....*for which I enclose the sum of* $.....

Name .....

Date .....

Address .....

WRITE ADVERTISEMENT HERE

Classified Advertisement Rate, 15 words 25 cents, 2 cents each additional word. Five insertions for the price of four.

All Advertisements must be prepaid. The Advertisement Manager reserves to herself the right to reject and return with remittance any Advertisement which she may consider unsuitable for insertion in this section of the paper